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CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL Presidium Discusses Gorbachev Visit D 1
[PRAVDA 14 Apr]
National Front Endorses Gorbachev Proposals D 2
[PRAVDA 14 Apr]
Jakes Receives Soviet Deputy Trade Minister D 2
USSR State Planning Official on Joint Efforts D 2
Obzina, U.S. Delegation Discuss Technology D 3
TU Congress Continues, Activities Reported D 3
GDR's Tisch Address [ADN] D 4
Rohlicek Views 'Initial Stages' of Restructuring D 5
Jakes Gives Technology, Restructuring Answers D 9
[RUDE PRAVO 4 Apr]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Comment on Gorbachev Disarmament Proposal E 1
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 13 Apr]
STERN Interview With SED's Hager on Reform E 2
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Apr]

HUNGARY

MSZMP CC Issues Slogans for May Day 1987 F 1
Miklos Speaks on State-Church Relations F 2
[NEPSZABADSAG 11 Apr]
Danish Prime Minister Welcomed by Lazar, Varkonyi F 5
Talks With Lazar F 6
Marjai Examines Trade Relations With Poland F 7
[PAP]
World Business Council Officials Met by Marjai F 7
Briefs: Chinese Tourism Agreement F 7

POLAND

Politburo Assesses Ties With USSR, Zhivkov Talks G 1
Jaruzelski Receives Envoy to Moscow 15 Apr G 1
Dissident Geremek Views Solidarity Role G 2
[Paris LE MONDE 12-13 Apr]
KOR's Michnik Discusses Struggle Objectives G 4
[Rome AVANTI! 31 Mar]
Siwicki Hails Swierczewski, Views Situation G 6
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 30 Mar]

CPSL PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES GORBACHEV VISIT

AU151805 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Report From a Session of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Bratislava -- At its session yesterday the CPSL Central Committee Presidium discussed the results of the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Bratislava and the West Slovak region.

It noted that the spontaneous interest and great response, which the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, aroused among the working people, youth, and other citizens of Slovakia, turned into a convincing manifestation of the firmness and indestructibility of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. Our people highly appreciate the peace policy of the Soviet Union and unequivocally support the new proposals for easing international tension that Comrade Mikhail Grobachev presented at the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Rally in Prague.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium took note of a report on ensuring the Set of Measures To Be Implemented in the Construction Industry, which the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved in 1983. The implementation of the short-term and operative measures which were adopted contributed to the fulfillment of the planned tasks of the building sector in the years 1985 and 1986. Nonetheless, the failure to meet the needs of the building industry for supplies of material, equipment, and small machinery and the inadequate tackling of some other weighty tasks accounts for a tense situation in the use of building capacities and for an increase in the number of unfinished projects. In the spirit of the resolution of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the tasks arising from the resolution of the CPSL Congress, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium calls on investors and subcontractors to restructure in principle the preparation and implementation of building projects and to shake off lingering traditional approaches in decisionmaking, planning, preparation, coordination, and cooperation among the partners involved in and in charge of construction.

In another part of the session, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium approved a draft of measures to ensure the implementation of the Concept of the State Housing Policy in the Slovak SR for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It critically noted that the present state of the implementation of tasks in this area is unusually complicated.

While discussing a report on a coordinated review of the implementation of tasks in further developing and raising the quality of services for the public, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium noted that the network of services has been expanded since 1982 and that their quality has also partially improved. Nonetheless, the set tasks and targets have not been fulfilled. It critically assessed, in particular, the standard of management and the coordination of services as well as the slow and inadequate application of the results of scientific-technical development. National committees and housing cooperatives, too, do not adequately meet their tasks with regard to the modernization and maintenance of the housing stock and other housing-related services. The CPSL Central Committee Presidium demands of Communists in national committees and housing cooperatives that they raise the standard and effectiveness of party work, reinforce the party's membership base and its quality, deepen the enforcement of the party's leading role, and enhance the effectiveness of control.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also adopted a set of measures in the interest of the successful implementation of the Program of the Further Mass Development of Physical Education, Sport, Tourism, and Paramilitary-Technical Sports in Slovakia. Emphasis is being placed on improving the quality of the compulsory physical education of children and the youth and on establishing suitable conditions for the mass development of voluntary physical education and paramilitary-technical sports.

The Presididum also discussed a number of other issues concerning internal policy, the organizational activity of party agencies and organizations, cadre work, and other areas.

NATIONAL FRONT ENDORSES GORBACHEV PROPOSALS

AU151607 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 87 p 8

[CTK report: "In Support of Soviet Proposals"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Czech SR, chaired by its deputy chairman, Miloslav Vacik, convened in Prague yesterday [13 April). The session was attended by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee. Among other things, the members of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Czech SR expressed high appreciation of and full support for the Soviet Union's initiative with regard to the removal of intermediate-range missiles from Europe and other Soviet disarmament proposals presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship rally in Prague's Palace of Culture and contained in the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet communique. In connection with the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee session, they expressed all-round support for the resolution adotped at this session.

JAKES RECEIVES SOVIET DEPUTY TRADE MINISTER

LD151615 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Yuriy Chumakov, USSR deputy minister of foreign trade, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia. They exchanged experience of restructuring the management mechanism in the foreign trade sector, of fulfilling agreements on mutual supplies of consumer goods, of price-setting, and of adapting the range of goods to the requirements of consumers. Both sides voiced their interest in the further development of foreign trade relations, in expanding direct production cooperation and specialization, and in joint efforts to ensure the availability of necessary raw and secondary materials in order to expand production and raise its efficiency.

USSR STATE PLANNING OFFICIAL ON JOINT EFFORTS

LD151613 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes today received Leonard Vid, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit. In a talk, they exchanged views on improving central planning in connection with increasing the autonomy of economic enterprises, and on applying economic accountability principles in their operations.

In the spirit of the conclusions of the talks between Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Gustav Husak, they discussed opportunities and directions for coordinating work on improving planning and management of the economy in the interests of bring closer together the economic mechanisms of both countries, and methods for working out the concept for the division of labor for the next 15-20 years.

OBZINA, U.S. DELEGATION DISCUSS TECHNOLOGY

LD151245 Prague CTK in English 1153 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina received today a visiting delegation of U.S. congressmen and discussed with them scientific and technological development and further bilateral cooperation in science and technology.

The delegation is headed by Chairman of the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Agriculture Eligio de la Garza and included three other congressmen.

Obzina, who is chairman of Czechoslovakia's State Commission for Scientific and Technological Development and Investments, acquainted the U.S. delegation with the Czechoslovak Government's plans in the field of scientific and technological development up to the year 2000, and discussed with it concrete possibilities of developing cooperation between the two countries in science and technology.

The cooperation is expected to focus on the exchange of information and new contacts between Czechoslovak and U.S. scientific centres and universities.

TU CONGRESS CONTINUES, ACTIVITIES REPORTED

LD152314 Prague CTK in English 0810 GMT 15 Apr 87

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK) -- The 11th Congress of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, which began yesterday, continued here today.

The delegates discussed a report on the activities since the 10th congress in 1982 and on tasks of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the forthcoming five-year period of building an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

The discussion reflects the working atmosphere of the congress ensuing from a critical analysis of the work of Czechoslovak Trade Unions which associate 93 per cent of all working people. The delegates appreciated a number of positive results in the sphere of care for the working people and protection of the environment, and criticized expressions of routinization, formalism and bureaucratic attitudes of some trade union organs and functionaries.

The congress concentrates above all on tasks connected with accelerating the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia, set a year ago by the 17th congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

In the interest of concretization of problems and their solution the plenary session, including more than 1,900 delegates, was divided into six sections. Their task was to set aims and intentions in the corresponding spheres of trade union activities.

Individual sections deal with the position and tasks of trade unions, their economic functions, care for the working people, political and organizational work and activity of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the international trade union movement.

GDR's Tisch Address

LD151407 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Prague, 14 Apr (ADN) -- The 11th Congress of the CSSR Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] opened at the Palace of Culture in Prague on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

The head of the FDGB delegation Harry Tisch, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the FDGB national executive, conveyed fraternal militant greetings on behalf of all GDR trade unionists. "We are glad that such battle-tried comrades-in-arms as the ROH are at our side. In the close community of the socialist states we are successfully tackling the challenges of our time for the benefit and the happiness of the working people." Harry Tisch referred to the thousands of meetings among labor collectives and the wide-ranging personal relationships between the citizens of our countries.

"On the dividing line between imperialism and socialism in Europe, we are striving together for a policy of understanding and trade union dialogue," Harry Tisch said. He referred to the initiatives by the SED, CPCZ, and the SPD for a zone free of chemical weapons and a corridor free of nuclear weapons in Central Europe, which were an important element of peace preservation in Europe. The socialist peace program met with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the international trade union movement. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for the elimination of all medium-range missiles in Europe and the further disarmament proposals he tabled in Prague were described by Harry Tisch as new evidence of the detente policy of socialism, rich in initiatives. Under the motto "My workplace, my battle station for peace," the GDR working people contributed -- through high performance in socialist competition -- toward strengthening socialism and making peace more secure.

On Monday, Harry Tisch had a friendly meeting with Miroslav Zavadil. The two sides discussed the present state and further development of bilateral relations. They praised the great achievements of the fraternally allied working people of the GDR and CSSR in the strengthening of socialism and preservation of peace.

ROHLICEK VIEWS 'INITIAL STAGES' OF RESTRUCTURING

LD020952 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1915 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Studio interview with Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy premier and chairman of the Planned Economic Management Committee, by unidentified announcer -- live; Rohlicek speaks in Slovak; announcer speaks in Czech; no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade deputy premier, a large number of questions [from viewers] concerns the nature of two-level management that is being considered as regards its principles and practice.

[Rohlicek] First of all, we want to simplify management in principle. We want to proceed from the national economic level of management directly to enterprises. It will be specified later whether it will be called an enterprise or a state economic organization. The basis, however, is to abolish the intermediate links that have existed to date.

[Announcer] When looking at it from the viewpoint of current practice, comrade deputy premier, what is going to form the central bodies from the current structure?

[Rohlicek] I should like to say by way of introduction that we are in the initial stages of this work. If I were to answer your question however, at least generally, I believe that the bodies involved are, for example, the State Planning Commission, the State Commission for research and development and Investment Planning, the federal Ministry of Finance, the appropriate price bodies and, of course, a number of other departmental bodies. I repeat yet again that we have to work on the specific aspects.

[Announcer] They say that the whole apparatus of central management today is very extensive. Are you considering some simplification, some narrowing down?

[Rohlicek] I think you are right. It is true that our apparatus is altogether relatively qualified but it also has to be said that it is very complicated. It is precisely from this viewpoint, when we take into account the fact that we want to change to two-level management that we will probably ask that the apparatus and its methods of work be simplified too.

[Announcer] What will be the instruments of influence on the operation of the national economy by the central bodies. What will be at their disposal?

[Rohlicek] I should like to stress that the principles envisage a substantial change, that is from the present, administrative method to a truly national economic one. We presume that the long-term prospects will improve, just as those of the 5-year plan. Then, above all, by means of valorization categories, or in other words, indirect economic instruments, the fulfillment of these social intentions will have to be safeguarded by the appropriate national economic organizations. That is, as distinct from the present situation in which the fulfillment of the decisive indices is reflected in report books, we desire that every enterprise have an internal economic interest in the implementation of the intentions of the 5-year plan. Of course, this will not be that simple and, above all, in the initial stage we must thoroughly consider the transition because while working on the restructuring we cannot afford to lose sight of the fulfillment of the tasks of this eighth 5-year plan.

[Announcer] Let us turn to some concepts. The viewers, for example, ask what normative numbers are. Can you explain?

[Rohlicek] Well, norms, in fact, represent a certain relation. For example, the relation between absolute net profit or net income of an enterprise and the right in korunas to subsidize the developmental fund is set by a number which we refer to as a normative number.

[Announcer] In other words, the central body can say that each 15th koruna, for example, out of your profit will be used for investment or for wages. The setting of this normative number will be important for the running of an economic organization. Another such concept is subsidy. We know a large number of these in the present practice. Will there be subsidies?

[Rohlicek] We would like to change their quality too. In our present system subsidies prevail, which can be claimed almost automatically, one can say. A certain product is being manufactured, but this product from the viewpoint of the wholesale or even retail price has to be subsidized. So, automatically, according to the number of such products and expressed in terms of wholesale price, this product is entitled to subsidy. We want to turn this the other way round. We want to provide subsidies for what is in accordance with the basic intentions of all society. The same thing is also true in investment construction, for example. So far the structure of the resources determines systematically [word indistinct] subsidies. We want to turn this the other way round so that the state becomes, so to speak, a customer. So, if the state considers it useful to build an investment project, it will announce to the potential investor that it will contribute a certain sum of the state financial means. In other words, the quality of the (?subsidies) will thus be altered.

[Announcer] What will be the position of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia and its main instrument, that is credit?

[Rohlicek] We envisage that the role of the State Bank should be strengthened in principle, because through our currency by means not only of current accounts, but also credit accounts, but also credit accounts, the bank monitors the activity of an enterprise every day. It literally compares the expenditure with which the enterprise operates against its output. It knows how efficient the enterprise is. In other words, the bank, by guiding, in accordance with the 5-Year Plan, the credit and, I would say, even interest policies is capable of stimulating certain activities in the enterprise, or, if these activities do not measure up to the appropriate economic parameters, it is capable of suppressing them by means of the credit and interest activities.

[Announcer] Yes, so the bank considers the usefulness, sets the interest rate accordingly, and the enterprise is then able to draw credit if and when it earns enough through its activity to pay the interest.

[Rohlicek] I should like to add that, for example, at present, the bank is virtually forced to credit, let us say, stocks as a whole. If the enterprise does not have the necessary funds the bank gives complete credit. Under the new conditions the bank must inevitably possess the right to exclude from credit facilities the undesirable obligations.

[Announcer] Yes. A number of viewers, including some management economic employees, have a lot of faith in the realization of the price policy. What changes do you envisage in this?

[Rohlicek] First of all, when answering this question, I should like to stress that I have in mind solely wholesale prices and buying prices and the kind of prices that compare with them. In this connection and at this stage we are not talking and we have no intention to talk about retail prices. The fundamental change -- and it was in this sense that we were preparing the rationalization of wholesale prices as of 1 January 1988 and the second stage of this restructuring as of 1 January 1989 [sentence as heard]. It is true, in connection with the completion of the work concerning the principles, which were approved and published we have reached the conclusion that this approach must be reassessed. It will be more rational if all the restructuring is done simultaneously, aiming at one date only -- that is, we are now operating within the date of 1 January 1989 -- while seeking possibilities of a certain reduction of the level of wholesale prices with the basic crucial point being the improvement of relations between wholesale prices of the individual products. Then one should aim at more realistic wholesale prices in the sense of a more accurate expression of the value which we now lack to the extent necessary, that is, the value of manpower.

[Announcer] Among the questions was one very specific one: is the price to continue to depend on the actual cost of production?

[Rohlicek] Well, that is a key question. We wish to approach this in such a way as to turn around the approach and the process to date of how calculations were based. For us or, in particular, for a country such as Czechoslovakia with a relatively poor raw material base, with high participation in international division of labor, our own costs of production cannot be decisive. For us the decisive thing is prices on the world markets and in particular of those products in which we trade and those we export. So that is on what we will base the whole system of calculation and creation of prices, so that the Czechoslovak products can make their mark or, to put it another way, so that they are able to compete on the world markets.

[Announcer] Yes. A final question concerning prices: Will there be some possibility of a direct agreement between the supplier and consumer about the price?

[Rohlicek] This is a very specific question, and it is just in the, so to speak, process of being out. I personally believe that we must allow this method of creation of prices. This does not mean in the least that we would put the policy of the creation of prices into free play, but there is a whole range of possibilities and tools here, with various limits, upper limits, agreement between suppliers and consumers, but still, in particular in the initial stage, we must not forget that in a whole range of products we are in a deficit situation, and that in this we will probably not be able to have these free relations at the beginning, because we would thus open the way for inflationary development, which is not in our program, that is not our aim.

[Announcer] The explanation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and of our entire society devotes much attention to autonomy and responsibility of economic enterprises. It is rather interesting with regard to wage policy to what degree organizations will be independent. What will happen there in your view?

[Rohlicek] We will not be able to choose the current system in which the appropriate central bodies calculate wages to the smallest detail. We want to start a new system of setting up what will be called a guaranteed wage, or something like that, and will take the form of tariffs, or grades, or qualification levels. A worker will have the basic part of his wage in line with these tariffs but the rest, which should in our view represent the basic incentive, should depend on the overall results of the particular enterprise, of his enterprise, of the creation of its net profit, or net revenue, and on its basis the changeable part of payment will be set.

[Announcer] Will it be the enterprise itself that decides this?

[Rohlicek] Yes, this will be decided by the enterprise as such, in accordance with its rules, and this will be complexity not only of this target solution but also of the intermediate period: Our society must get accustomed to the fact that differentiation can be done not only according to the amount and quality of the work by an individual worker, but that there will be a difference in reward for the same work even I would say for the same quality of work depending whether I work in the enterprise A or B according to the results achieved by one and the other enterprise. There we have to allow for a difference in the amount of reward according to the results achieved.

[Announcer] In the past, we knew the term wage limit. Now it will not exist. Will there be any limit on earnings, or will we allow extraordinary earnings in its place?

[Rohlicek] I think our worst practice now is these limits; if some man makes an extraordinary and outstanding contribution in his work there is no reason why he should not be given an extraordinary reward that differs greatly from the average.

[Announcer] Now, comrade chairman, let us talk about your work on the government committee. You are working on a number of legislative measures. How far along are you in that work?

[Rohlicek] As Comrade Federal Premier Strougal said at the aktiv where they acquainted themselves with these principles and also now in a declaration on the fulfillment of the government program statement, we want to finish the comprehensive document by the end of this year. This, for us, is the top-priority task. The second most important task is to prepare the bill of law on socialist state enterprises, which will be called state national enterprises or state socialist organizations. In any case, we want to make a distinction between state and cooperative organizations. So, I am replying also to the second part of the question, which you have still not formulated, that is in regard to the bill on cooperatives.

We again envisage that it will be an amendment, or it might even be a new law on cooperative management. Of course, we are faced with the task of analyzing this, and we shall at least conclude by issuing quite new basic laws which adjust the management of our national economy -- such as the law on national economic planning, the law briefly known as financial provisions, that is the law about the fundamental financial relations to the state budget and similar and other laws that control the issues of taxes and shares of profits. Of course, I should not forget that in the same way the labor code and economic code and the whole law on external economic relations will have to be amended. This is already being worked upon -- our general public knows about it -- as all these are laws adopted in the past. We are not condemning them in this way; they were prepared at a time when conditions were different, and we must carry out all these legal amendments because conditions have changed.

[Announcer] Comrade deputy premier, at the opening of the fifth session of the party's Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak explained the whole principle of restructuring and the restructuring of the economic mechanism. It emerges from this explanation that a number of capable workers and economic organizations can surely look forward to newly created space, but on the whole restructuring means an increase in the effectiveness of our economy, an increase in the strictness of the work regime. How do you think this process will go, if we ignore the legislative rules and prerequisites?

[Rohlicek] I think you have touched upon one of the key questions on the whole restructurization, and I will reply simply: If someone thinks that in the new conditions he will be putting less into the enterprise value creation processes, or those of society, and getting more, then he is mistaken. On the contrary, precisely for those reasons that we have very briefly outlined in the previous questions the Czechoslovak economy, Czechoslovak society, unavoidably and objectively needs us to make better use of what we have. If, for example, we accept the veracity of various studies that are supported by figures, comparison of our material and energy expenditure, expenditure on our products, our work; if we accept that this is based on a true comparison of our results with those abroad, then it is a matter of urgency that these new conditions, which should enable us to accelerate, this process of intensification come to the fore, even when we use foreign words. Basically it is a matter of increasing the amount of value for money in Czechoslovakia, which means using input that exists, and maybe there could be even less. We must secure greater improvement than now exists, not only in volume, but primarily in quality and structure.

[Announcer] Esteemed listerners, in some areas we have probably just touched on replies to your questions. We would like to take this opportunity to ask you for more suggestions, questions and points. We will arrange another interview with experts to answer your questions in the near future.

JAKES GIVES TECHNOLOGY, RESTRUCTURING ANSWERS

AU080735 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Apr 87 p 3

[Second installment of answers given by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to questions of RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA readers within the framework of a "long-distance news conference": "On Current Problems of Scientific and Technical Development" -- opening paragraph is the newspaper's introduction]

[Text] On Saturday, 28 March, RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA published the first part of Comrade Milos Jakes; answers to readers' questions concerning current problems of scientific and technical development. The great number of questions confirmed that these issues are very topical and of interest to the whole Czechoslovak public, which is also corroborated by the fact that many questions arrived even after the set deadline. The great number of questions that have been sent in prompted the two editorial offices to select those, which basically encompass most of the problems involved and the answers to which clarify the main causes of these problems and the further course of action.

Engineer Vaclav Konfrst, Kladno: What are the main causes of the failure at many new investment projects to attain the planned specifications in line with the start-up charts?

[Jakes] These issues were discussed in great detail at the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The cause lies nowhere else than in the poor discipline and responsibility of some managerial cadres, who constantly demand new resources, including investments, and frequently promise returns that past practice show to have been unfeasible. To prevent this, we must raise demands on the quality of the experts' appraisals. Less attention is being paid at individual workplaces to tapping unused potentials, especially to increasing the shift rate. At the same time, new investments are often inadequately prepared, which is manifested in the failure to live up to the projected specifications as well as in the nonadherence to construction deadlines. Problems in supplier-user relations and the excessively large number of projects simultaneously under construction -- which frequently exceeds our capacities and makes it impossible to concentrate resources on the most efficient and socially most beneficial projects -- also exert a negative influence in this regard. The CPCZ Central Committee therefore charged the responsible agencies and institutions with a number of tasks aimed at improving, in principle, the preparation of new investments, raising the quality of design and planning, and improving the activity of experts. We must make sure not only that investments are completed on schedule and that the projected specifications are quickly achieved, but also that these specifications are on a level with world standards. A review of ongoing and planned investment projects and the reduction by 15 to 20 percent in the number of projects simultaneously under construction will help to improve the situation. A fundamental change for the better should be brought by the restructuring of the economic mechanism, which, as is known, places emphasis on investments funded from retained earnings, which will also increase the economic interest of enterprises and organizations in the earliest possible return on their invested capital.

Karel Subrt, doctor of medicine, Holesov: Will the restructuring of the economic mechanism have an impact on international economic relations?

[Jakes] The Principles of Restructuring the CSSR Economic Mechanism come from the need to improve the mechanism of management throughout the CEMA community. That is also why our approach is similar to that of the USSR, with which we maintain the most extensive economic relations. The coalescence of economic mechanisms will establish favorable terms for the development of these relations as it will remove a number of existing barriers. As I have already stated, the setting up of direct ties and joint enterprises and organizations constitutes an important part of these relations. Changes are also being prepared for the entire mechanism of economic and scientific-technical cooperation among socialist states. Important decisions were adopted by the consultative meeting of the highest party representatives in Moscow last November. I am thinking of the decisions to restructure the mechanism of socialist economic integration and CEMA activity and to work out a collective concept of international socialist division of labor for the next 15 to 20 years, to which we attribute a key importance for the development of our country and the entire socialist community.

Engineer Oldrich Hora, candidate of sciences, Prague 9: Are any measures being planned to speed up the building of efficient organizational units such as research-production associations or research-production units? What sort of priority status will these units have in terms of supplies of materials and components?

[Jakes] Indeed, they are being planned. Closer links between the research-development base and the production practice are one of the crucial prerequisites of a more rapid and efficient utilization of the findings of science and technology; that is why we must greatly improve the situation in this regard. The formation of research-production units and research-production associations is one road to this aim. We have already gathered some good experience, which must become more widespread. It is all up to the intitiative of senior managerial personnel.

It is also necessary to expand contract-based, that is, paid, cooperation between the workplaces of basic research -- institutes and laboratories of the academy of sciences and the institutions of higher learning -- and applied research and production. Some new forms of these links are now being tested. It will be absolutely essential to finally resolve the methods of pooling resources; this issue was discussed at the Fifth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Links between science, research, and production are getting closer also on the international scale. This mainly takes the shape of direct ties and joint enterprises and associations. As far as the second part of the question is concerned, it needs to be said that giving someone a priority status in terms of supplies of materials and components provides no solution. Our aim is a higher performance of the entire national economy, and not just of its individual workplaces. A solution of principle lies in reinforcing the standing of the consumer and in tightening responsibility in supplier-user relations for honoring economic contracts. However, the "green light" must be given to the conversion of the results of science into the production and capacities on a priority basis and preventing suppliers and producers from being able to use as an excuse regulations permitting them, for example, to effect their deliveries only in a year's time. The important thing is thus not only to talk about the importance of an early application of science and technology, but to act accordingly in practical life.

Alojz Kralicek, Rybky: In which way does the workers class stand to benefit from acceleration?

[Jakes] The primary aim of implementing the strategic line of the 17th congress, the acceleration of the socioeconomic development, is to meet the basic target of the party's and the socialist state's policy -- further growth in living standards, better satisfaction of material and cultural needs, and new opportunities for the general development of the personality. This depends on a more effective application of scientific-technical progress, which -- apart from raising the efficiency of production -- also makes it possible to improve working conditions, to limit monotonous and physically hard labor, to make better use of the creative potentials of the working people, and to achieve greater job satisfaction. The international importance of the program of acceleration must not be neglected either because it contributes to strengthening the positions of world socialism and to establishing the material base of progress and peace.

However, all the hopes that we are linking with the strategy of acceleration cannot be realized automatically. The meeting of our targets hinges on the results of our work, on the performance ofour economy, on the cost-effectiveness and quality of our products. All of this depends on the approach to work of each one of us. It will always hold true that there is no gain without pain.

Vladimir Hantak, Prague: Will it be possible to channel funds obtained through savings of steel and fuel to the payroll fund of those employees who accomplished these savings?

[Jakes] Greater thrift is one of the prerequisites of intensifying the national economy and meeting the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. That is why the initiative of the working people must be oriented in this direction and why working people must be provided with effective material as well as moral incentives to achieve the greatest possible conservation. [paragraph continues]

This is why in restructuring the economic mechanism we foresee that the creation of the enterprise funds, including the payroll fund, will depend to a much greater extent than until now on the efficiency of management, and thereby also, inter alia, on more efficient consumption of material, fuel, and power resources. Even today there are no obstacles to making the workforce financially interested in savings or, to be more precise, in a more rational use of raw and other materials, fuels, and energy. On the contrary, the existing regulations permit this.

Vladimir Meixner, Prague 10: Is there any interest in a truly long-term and planned-based development of the some branches of the national economy such as coal extraction, electricity generation, and iron production?

[Jakes] Guidance by the plan is a basic principle and merit of the socialist economy and this also applies to the development of the power ad metallurgical industries. However, development according to plan must not be understood to mean a continuous growth of the production volume. Guidance by the plan means setting such proportions for the development of the economy and the society as a whole as are objectively feasible and socially desirable in the given period. The Main Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy approved by the 17th CPCZ Congress provide -- in harmony with the structural rebuilding of the economy up to the year 2000 -- for a reduction in the production of pig iron and crude steel and also for a reduction in coal extraction, which will increasingly be replaced by other resources, particularly nuclear power. This is also a way to deal with our grave ecological problems. However, the main focus of our attention is a comprehensive rationalization of the consumption of energy and metals. This is the aim of the state target program of fuel, energy, and metal conservation. Energy-intensiveness and the consumption of metals [per unit of national income] are much higher in our country than in the world, which testifies to the existence of unused reserves. It has been demonstrated at the same time that to save a given amount you need only half the investments you would need to acquire the same amount in new resources. Our aim is to reduce the material- and energy-intensiveness of the Czechoslovak economy. This aim is also connected with structural changes, which require a more rapid development of production lines that are connected with a high degree of the utilization of all resources.

Julius Farkas, Michalovce: Is the possibility being considered to task several collectives working independently of each other with drafting concepts for the development of the national economy and of proceeding according to the best variant?

[Jakes] The work on long-term concepts for the development of the national economy, just as the preparation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, is organized in a way that permits the utilization of the findings of the scientific-research base as well as those of the economic and social practice. We do use also variants in this work, which means that creative discussions are not avoided.

Economic and planning agencies have become involved in this activity just as workplaces of the Czechozlovak Academy of Sciences and higher educational establishments, the sectors' institutes, and other research institutes. Some experiments have also been launched, such as the one testing the impact of individual elements of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Citizens and people from the production practice also take part in the preparation of a number of decisions with their proposals and observations. Managerial agencies and organizations have been placed under the obligation to pay the greatest attention to citizens' suggestions and to make use of them to the greatest possible extent.

COMMENTARY ON GORBACHEV DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL

AU151825 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Apr 87 p 2

[W.M. commentary: "Blazing a Trail for Disarmament"]

[Text] The additional disarmament proposals which Mikhail Gorbachev submitted in Prague on Friday [10 April] are meeting with vigorous approval and support in our republic and in numerous other countries. They are proof of the unswerving efforts of the Soviet Union to ultimately blaze the trail for the process of attaining a disarmament control which is deceive for the survival of mankind. The actions which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee recommends above all, intended to promote the conclusion of an agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe, which is also favored -- without ifs, and, or buts -- by the two German states. Of all the nuclear disarmament problems this is the one whose solution has come within easy reach.

Important signals have come from the Soviet Union in this respect. It has provided constructive answers in response to objections raised by the West -- for whatever reasons -- in connection with the proposal to conclude an agreement on intermediate-range missiles. First, the Soviet Union has declared its willingness to start discussing the reduction and subsequent elimination of the 500- to 1,000km-range missiles deployed in Europe, irrespective of the course and outcome of the negotiations on intermediate-range missiles. And second, it has submitted a proposal that far-reaching negotiations be opened by the foreign ministers of the CSCE states, aimed at a radical reduction of tactical nuclear weapons, armed forces, and conventional armaments. There is no doubt that both offers serve the purpose of facilitating the immediate conclusion of an agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

The USSR has not only welcomed the nuclear-free corridor in Europe suggested to the FRG by the GDR and CSSR, but in addition, has expressed its willingness to withdraw all Soviet nuclear weapons from such a corridor to guarantee and respect the nuclear-free status of this zone. When an answer is given to the GDR-CSSR appeal, the far-reaching importance of this statement should be carefully considered.

In Prague, Mikhail Gorbachev made the significant announcement that the Soviet Union has stopped the production of chemical weapons and started the construction of a special plant to destroy them. Again the Soviet Union has taken the first unilateral step to enhance the process. Also in view of the fact that the other Warsaw Pact states do not possess such weapons at all, this is a strong impulse to adopt an international convention on the ban of chemical weapons -- this year if possible.

Those who act like the USSR and like all Warsaw Pact states, live up to the great responsibility which every statesman bears today, for the peaceful future of his own and other peoples. It is clear to everybody what it would imply for international security if the other side would take the same approach to the vital questions of mankind, if it reacted in a positive way in word and deed to the signals from Prague. Reason, realism, and farsightedness are required now more than ever before, so that this unique chance can be used to bring about a fundamental change in the international situation by switching from the arms race to disarmament. The GDR, side by side with the Soviet Union and together with all those who are committed to the same cause, will devote its constructive, flexible, and persistent work to achieve this goal.

STERN INTERVIEW WITH SED'S HAGER ON REFORM

AU150731 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with SED Politburo member Kurt Hager by STERN editors Peter Pragal and Ulrich Voelklein in Hager's East Berlin office; no date given]

[Text] STERN: The SED leadership supports the reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev -- in the Soviet Union. Simultaneously the GDR is emphasizing its independence. Is the time past when Lenin's country was an example for the German Communists?

Hager: The GDR and the Soviet Union are allies. They have concluded a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. There is an indestructible friendship between the peoples of the two countries, which is expressed in direct relations between enterprises, universities, and other institutions, as well as in innumerable personal contacts. The SED and the CPSU are fraternal parties and exchange ideas regularly in order to learn from each other. It has been that way, continues that way, and it will be that way in the future.

STERN: So the slogan: "To learn from the Soviet Union means to learn how to win" can no longer be applied?

Hager: I would remind you that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the 11th SED Party Congress in April 1986: "You know that our party and our people have stood by you all these years since the war, always ready to help the young workers' state. We were true friends and allies of the Socialist Unity Party and the German Democratic Republic and will remain so for all time." So you can proceed on the assumption that it would be a waste of time to drive a wedge between the GDR and the Soviet Union or to invent differnences between the SED and the CPSU.

STERN: "Perestroyka," restructuring in the GDR, too?

Hager: As is known, the 27th CPSU Party Congress made important decisions in the interest of further strengthening socialism and accelerating socioeconomic developments in the Soviet Union. In his greeting address at the 27th party congress, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, emphasized that the implementation of the action program is of basic significance for the welfare of the Soviet people and is, at the same time, of decisive international importance. On numerous other occasions we have expressed our conviction to the Soviet people and its Communist Party that the changes initiated by the 27th party congress, the efforts to overcome unfavorable tendencies and difficulties that had arisen in the seventies and early eighties will be crowned with success. Those efforts are aimed at fully developing the enormous material and intellectual potential of the Soviet Union, thereby building and strengthening socialism even more.

STERN: That sounds like the SED would like best not to have too much to do with all that?

Hager: We German Communists have always shown great respect and admiration for Lenin's country. That will not change. This year we observe the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, which led to the overthrow of the capitalists and big landowners, to the establishment of the first socialist state in history, which facilitated socialism in the twenties and thirties and, in particular, industrialization and collectivization. We know that the Sovet Union bore the main burden of the struggle against Hitler's fascism, and we will never forget that in particular our people owe their liberation from the Nazi regime to the Soviet Union. We have studied the teachings of Lenin, in particular the theory of the socialist revolution and the establishnent of socialism as well as the theory of the party, and we have benefited from the rich treasure of experience of the CPSU. However, that did not mean in the past, that we imitated everything that happened in the Soviet Union.

STERN: A hard word... .

Hager: The appeal by the KPD Central Committee of 15 June 1945 says: "We are of the opinion that it would be the wrong path to force the Soviet system on Germany, because that path does not correspond with German conditions." By the way, the Soviet Union does not copy the GDR either. It seems that Western media are intereted in the subject of "copying," because it fits into their preconception of "Moscow's hand" or of the alleged uniformity and monotony of socialism. Would you, if your neighbor puts up his new wallpaper feel obliged to have your apartment redecorated, too?

STERN: That means there is an independent German path to socialism?

Hager: It goes without saying that all socialist countries learn from each other, as they have much in common -- for instance, Marxism-Leninism as ideology, and socialism and communism as common goals. However, every socialist country has a certain economic and social stage of development, historical and cultural traditions, geographic and other conditions, which must be taken into consideration. Every party bears responsibility toward its people and works for its welfare. Simultaneously its policy contributes to the joint cause of socialism, to strengthening and consolidating the socialist community. The SED in its domestic and foreign policy consistently follows the course adopted at the 8th Party Congress in 1971, by the party program of 1976, and by the 11th Party Congress in 1986. That is, as you put it, our independence in forming the developed socialist society in the GDR. The fact that we have reached a good position -- with our economic strategy, with a coordinated economic and social policy, with the development and utilization of key technologies, with our educational system, and our other achievements -- is internationally recognized today.

STERN: That is true of economic policy, if at all.

Hager: As for foreign policy -- particularly safeguarding peace -- we fully support the socialist peace program submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev, ranging from the brave proposal to free the world of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 -- the idea of safeguarding peace on earth and in space outlined in Reykjavik -- to the recent Soviet initiative to eliminate all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe. At present there is nothing more important than preserving peace. The SED and the GDR are making their own contributions. There is an agreement between the SED and the SPD to create a nuclear- and chemical weapons-free corridor in Europe. As is known, Erich Honecker proposed to FRG Chancellor Kohl to agree to the elimination of intermediate-range missiles and to take up talks between representatives of the two German states on disarmament issues.

STERN: Polish party chief Jaruzelski stated that with his radical changes Gorbachev wanted to save socialism from inflexibility. Do you share that opinion?

Hager: Socialism is a young social system. It has embarked on new paths. It continually demands creative theoretical and practical solutions to facilitate further forming and perfecting, especially by applying the results of the scientific-technical revolution. It demands the elimination of factors hindering development, such as stagnation, falling behind, or even inflexibility. I think that was what was meant by Wojciech Jaruzelski. As our experience proves, socialism is capable of developing great social forces and energies and new initiatives from the working people to make further progress. This has clearly been proven by developments in the GDR since the eighth party congress in 1971. The introduction of microelectronics and other key technologies, the formation of combines in industry and in the construction industry, cooperative councils in agriculture, and the uniform socialist education system -- all these are creative achievements standing their test in life....

STERN: ...But they do not prove the superiority of socialism in the competition of systems.

Hager: They do. Moreover, I am of the opinion that it is not socialism but the capitalist society that is threatened by really incurable inflexibility. It is -- in contrast to socialism -- not in a position to solve the people's social problems. That is demonstrated by mass unemployment in capitalist industrial states, ruined farmers, the ruination of whole regions through the closure of enterprises, the "new poverty", and the moral and spiritual decay that cannot be hidden by all the glamor of that society.

STERN: Differences among allies are nothing unusual. In socialist countries they are not as openly evident as in the West. What do you think, for example, of the election of plant directors by the workers?

Hager: I considered the statement most questionable that differences of opinion are not so openly discussed in the socialist camp as in the capitalist. We are frequently surprised at how long differences of opinion among NATO states are kept quiet. Then they are suddenly publicized with a great fuss, usually only when the dispute is safely over. In part such differences are handled confidentially.

STERN: What about the election of plant directors, as proposed by Gorbachev?

Hager: That is not a discussion topic for us. Each country can choose the solution it prefers. Our experience over many years has been that it is good that a plant is headed for many years by a manager who is qualified and in a position to organize quality production efficiently, and make a profit. Managers with such characteristics and close relations with personnel are appointed in our country after political and professional training. That has stood its test. Former workers usually know their plant very well.

STERN: They are appointed, not elected.

Hager. I know of no example of a business manager in the FRG or other capitalist country who is elected by his workers. Why such interest in whether plant directors are elected under socialism. Do you want to try this at STERN?

STERN: Socialist democracy, says General Secretary Erich Honecker, is greatly superior to the bourgeois one. Is that thesis not disproved by Mikhail Gorbachev's restructuring relations between the citizen and the state? If the attractiveness of real socialism really were that great, there would be no need to change the prototype.

Hager: The CPSU is trying to perfect socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. I know it does not consider its methods a model for other socialist states.

STERN: So there is no need to act in the GDR?

Hager: As to the GDR, democracy means that millions of citizens in parties, mass organizations, peoples representations, associations, interest groups, social commissions, aktivs, and housing societies cooperate and exercise their democratic rights. Our democracy is alive and constantly being further developed. Let me only mention two examples. In the GDR more than 260,000 deputies and candidates in the elected people's representations, together with another 450,000 citizens in committees and commissions, see to it that the preparation, the implementation and the control of the implementation of the state's decisions which are important for the lives of the citizens are carried out in close contact with the voters. The reality of our democracy finds its expression in the composition of the people's representative bodies including everything from the People's Chamber to the smallest village authority, because it reflects exactly the social order of our society. The People's Chamber comprises 10 groups, representing all five political parties and the mass organizations. In this way all classes and strata, the workers and peasants, the scientific and artistic intelligensia, as well as the middle class, the young, and the women have their share in the exercise of the worker-peasant power. A decisive phenomenon of socialist democracy in the GDR is that it guarantees in the economy -- the most important sphere, that of work -- comprehensive cooperation by working people in managing and planning all economic processes. That shows particularly clearly that socialist democracy, as Lenin said, is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy.

STERN: Do GDR citizens see it that way?

Hager: Above all the role of the trade unions in our country with their 9.5 million members must be stressed, the significance of which finds its expression in comprehensive rights that are laid down in the GDR's constitution and the Labor Law Code. On this basis millions of trade union members and practically all trade union organs participate immediately and in a manifold way -- in particular in the plan discussion and in socialist competition -- in mastering the challenges of the scientific-technological revolution and in developing the working and living conditions in the enterprises and regions accordingly. According to the tested principle "cooperate in working, planning, governing," nowadays every third GDR citizen is involved in unpaid functions, managing the state and society. Thus socialist democracy is an indispensable part of our citizens' everyday life. I know of no capitalist country where there is such democracy with such broad cooperation with citizens in public matters. Or do you mean to say that in the FRG every third citizen works unpaid for the state and society?

STERN: Interest is growing in the GDR in Soviet developments. However, GDR media reportage is rather reserved. Is it really in the interest of the GDR if the Soviet Embassy sends Gorbachev's Central Committee speech to other missions with the remark that it is the complete text?

Hager: I do not know where you heard that our media reports in a reserved way about the Soviet Union. Aside from the reports by all mass media, we have a special illustrated, FREIE WELT, and the journal PRESSE DER SOVIET UNION, which deal mainly with the Soviet Union. Even the media of your country could avail themselves with our help of the text of Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches. However, practice shows that FRG press, radio, and television use that information in a more than reserved way.

STERN: More reserved than the GDR media?

Hager: As for the coverage of the CPSU Central Committee meeting on 27 and 28 January of this year, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech and closing address at that plenum have been published in full by Dietz Publishers, Berlin, our party publishing house. Nobody can really accuse us of being reserved. It is not at all unusual that the texts of speeches delivered at Central Committee meetings of fraternal parties are published. However, should you miss speculations about developments in the Soviet Union in our media -- quite common in FRG media for obvious motives -- you will not get what you want in the future.

STERN: At the recent congress of Soviet journalists, several speakers demanded that the mass media avoid hackneyed, empty formulas and present controversial opinions more frequently. Do you agree with the reporting by GDR newspapers and its excessive self-praise?

Hager: What do you expect? Should we hide our light under a bushel and conceal our unquestionable successes in all fields of our social life, or even deny them? They are recognized even in the FRG, as was shown at the Leipzig Fair recently, by circles which politically are not at all friends of socialism....

STERN: Franz Josef Strauss and Lothar Spaeth, for instance.

Hager: By the way, we are very critical. That was clearly indicated by Erich Honecker's speech to the first kreis secretaries of the SED, or by Guenter Mittag's speech to the director generals of the combines. We have always made it quite plain that great problems still have to be solved, that what we have achieved is not what we could achieve, and that what is not yet in order must be put in order.

STERN: When the Soviet general secretary visited the GDR last year, workers did not form up by the roadside as was usual in former times. Apart from that, the traditional ritual -- banners, slogans, award of honor banners, and more -- has changed little. However, those are relics from the past times, when communists fought for power.

Hager: You are wrong when you maintian that banners and slogans are only peculiar to communists and relics of the past. May I remind you that recently thousands of farmers demonstrated with banners and slogans against farmers dying in the FRG. In Oberhausen and Hattingen, 60,000 citizens demonstrated with banners and slogans against the intention of Thyssen to dismiss thousands of steel workers.

STERN: An interesting comparison of systems.

Hager: It goes without saying that our banners and slogans have completely different contents. They are not bitter complaints, but peace slogans, appreciation of our social performance, commitments to socialist competition. Honor banners as a sign of visible recognition for extraordinary performances are very popular among our workers. Would it not be more appropriate if you showed indignation about the flags of the associations of refugees and expellees and the slogans of revanchist associations? Those are real relics of the past.

STERN: Despite improved travel opportunities there are still tens of thousands of GDR citizens who would like to leave that country forever. The main reason they give is dissatisfaction with political conditions. What is the GDR leadership doing to remove the reasons for that latent criticism?

Hager: I do not know where you get the figures for your remark. There are people who, without putting their own homes in order, think that they have to decide themselves for whatever reason on the social system of a different state.

STERN: That sounds a lot like a shirking accusation.

Hager: Some people sober up when they really experience the praised Western system of "freedom and democracy". Certainly, there are also families who are separated and would like to live together again. If there are justified desires, we have always considered that a humanitarian matter. The majority of GDR citizens are proud of what they have achieved in their country. They want to live and work in the GDR. They agree with our policy of peace, of economic growth, of full employment, and of social security. Their engagement, their performance is the basis of our country's progress.

STERN: Stefan Heym recently claimed in an interview that an "extremely liberal atmosphere" prevails in the GDR's cultural policy. Some writers are not allowed to publish their works in the GDR, but their books are printed in the West, sometimes even without permission. And despite this fact the artists are not bothered. Does this attitude stem from new tolerance or rather from the effort to avoid controversies that would cause a stir?

Hager: I am glad to hear that Stefan Heym has come to such an assessment of our cultural policy. By saying this he snubbed even those Western journalists who constantly malign the cultural policy of the SED and GDR as rigid and backward, because they are obviously envious of the remarkable achievements of our orchestras and soloists, of our writers and artists.

STERN: Leading politicians from both German states have made it known that they are willing to expand and deepen cooperation. What preconditions are to be created to make possible the reciprocal participation of General Secretary Erich Honecker and governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen in the celebrations on the occasion of the Berlin anniversary?

Hager: As far as the GDR is concerned, it has stressed time and again that deepened cooperation with the FRG and West Berlin is of great importance for a climate of confidence and understanding. If you followed the coverage of the meetings during the Leipzig Fair closely, you will have noticed that many talks with regard to participation in the 750th-anniversary celebrations have been conducted. Things have started moving. I do not want to go into details at this stage.

STERN: Mr Honecker's planned journey to the FRG has been postponed several times because -- according to Western assessment -- the political risks would have been too high. Has the way for a visit to the Rhine and the Saar been cleared now that East-West relations have noticeably improved?

Hager: The visit to the Rhine, the Saar, and also to Munich will take place when both sides deem the conditions and the point of time to be correct. These are question that have to be settled through diplomatic negotiations -- as everywhere in the world.

STERN: Two treaties that have been prepared by the two governments -- one on environmental protection and one on scientific-technical cooperation -- are viturally only lacking the signatures. When will they be signed by the representatives?

Hager: It is true that negotiations have reached a stage where conclusion in the near future is possible. A few details are still to be clarified. Then a date for the signing will be decided upon. The GDR is willing to obtain results as soon as possible.

STERN: A well-known Soviet noted recently that the majority of Germans still feel they belong to one nation. Does that thesis not contradict the assertion that an independent socialist German nation has been developing in the GDR?

Hager: I read the article to which you are alluding -- the original version, not the "translation" by some FRG media. Take the text as it was published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and you will have to admit that the author, Nikolay Portugalov, first notes that Germans live in the GDR as well as in the FRG. That is an unquestionable fact.

STERN: He says "members [angehoerige] of one German nation."

HAGER: Second, Mr Portugalov goes further. He adds a "but," saying: The life of Germans today is only possible within the framework of two independent and sovereign states with different social orders.

STERN: No contradiction to the GDR citizen theory?

Hager: Where is there a contradiction? No politician or journalist who wants to be taken seriously can question that as a result of World War II and postwar developments the German state has been split not by the communists and antifascists, but according to Adenauer's reactionary credo "better have half of Germany completely than all of Germany halfway." As the only possible response to the founding of the separatist state, the FRG, the working people in the east of the country created their own sovereign state, the GDR. With the basic solution of the social problem, the national one was also solved, and on the basis of worker-peasant power in socialist production conditions an independent socialist German nation began to develop.

STERN: It goes that fast?

Hager: Naturally, it is a long historical process. Does Portugalov polemicize against GDR people constituting themselves under the leadership of the workers class to become a socialist German nation? I find not a word of that in his article.

STERN: Is that the Swabian Hager's goodbye to reunification?

Hager: It is impossible, even though "dreamers at the all-German fireplaces" repeatedly try to obscure the objective difference between the GDR as a socialist state and the FRG as a capitalist state. It is impossible to achieve unity between socialism and imperialism. However, we maintain that the different and contrasting processes of national dlevelopment are no obstacle to living together peacefully.

STERN: This brings me to the last question. How do you assess Chancellor Kohl's government declaration

Hager: We have closely scrutinized Chancellor Kohl's statement. As far as domestic policy is concerned, I do not want to make a comment. It is none of our business to assess this side of the statement.

As to foreign policy, things are different. We are quite interested in what foreign policy course the FRG -- an important NATO state in the middle of Europe -- is going to adopt in the future. Apart from a number of unclear explanations, there are statements on the FRG's willingness to bring about peace and disarmament. I consider it significant that Chancellor Kohl favors steps toward disarmament and calls on the United States to make use of the chance that has emerged from the results of Reykjavik. We also welcome the fact that he advocates the conclusion of an agreement between the United States and the USSR on the other hand it is incomprehensible that Kohl makes no mention of the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev has put forth a proposal to solve this problem, which met with worldwide resonance.

With regard to the government declaration it, must also be said that we in the GDR were not the only ones who expected it to contain statements on what contribution the FRG is going to make in order to implement steps toward disarmament.

As far as statements on relations with the GDR are concerned, we noted that the new FRG Government also intends to adhere to some doctrines that have long become obsolete, which we regret. The time has long come to do away with illusions and unrealistic intentions.

We have, of course, also taken note of Chancellor Kohl's statement that the FRG Government -- on the basis of the joint 12 March 1985 declaration between Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl and of the basic agreement -- will do everything in its power to further develop relations between the two German states in a good and open atmosphere. In this respect political dialogue at all levels is of great significance.

Practical deeds in this sphere will be welcomed in the GDR.

MSZMP CC ISSUES SLOGANS FOR MAY DAY 1987

LD101645 Budapest MTI in English 1448 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI) -- The slogans for May Day, 1987 were issued in Budapest Friday by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in the following order:

1. Workers of the world unite.
2. Long live May Day.
3. Long live Marxism-Leninism.
4. Long live proletarian internationalism.
5. Let the unity of socialism-building people advance.
6. We support the peoples fighting for freedom and independence.
7. Long live the Soviet Union, the firm supporter of peace and progress.
8. Long live Hungarian-Soviet friendship.
9. We greet the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Revolution.
10. Peace for the world.
11. A nuclear weapon free world.
12. National cooperation for implementing the resolutions of the 13th congress.
13. Forward for the successful implementation of the 1987 national economic plan.
14. We greet the socialist brigades and vanguard workers.
15. Young People. Our future is at stake. Actions for socialist Hungary.
16. Long live the indissoluble unity of our party and people.
17. Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.
18. Long live and prosper our beloved homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic.

MIKLOS SPEAKS ON STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS

AU150708 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Apr 87 p 5

[Interview with State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, by correspodent Robert Friss: "Interview with State Secretary Imre Miklos on State-Chuch Relations" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Relations between the state and the church in Hungary are balanced as the result of mutual efforts over several decades. We solve problems that arise step by step and, in this spirit, by searching for the things that bind believers and Marxists together. In this way we strive to contribute to the implementation of our common goal: the construction of a new and more just society, of a socialist Hungary.

This system of relations has drawn international interest, and is concurrently part of the national cooperation and unity which guarantees our progress. There have been personnel changes in the church leadership recently. At the same time, we can see that development has produced new issues in all areas of life in the course of socialist construction. If this is the case, how is church policy changing in the light of these new realities, and can we count on continuity and further progress in church-state relations? We asked State Secretary Imre Miklos to provide answers to these questions.

[Friss] The ordered and good relations between the Hungarian state and the churches in Hungary are a considerable achievement in the development of our society, an achievement justifiably praised both at home and abroad. Please, could you sum up the main results achieved in the decades following our liberation.

[Miklos] I see the essence of the development of our church policy in the churches that once opposed or viewed the socialist transformation in Hungary with distrust today regard our socialist homeland as their natural environment. The ordered and constructive relations of today are the result of several decades of development fraught with struggle and searching for the way, a development that led from confrontation to political cooperation in socialist construction.

The Hungarian church policy gave a positive answer to the question that emerged from the historical meeting of socialism with religion, a question of considerable importance both theoretically and in practice. We have proved that the churches can carry out their activity freely in socialism, that one can live and prosper as a religious person in a socialist society, all the while being committed to the construction of the new society. Religious people participate in the socialist construction without conflicts of conscience because they can live freely, according to their religious beliefs. I regard this as one of our greatest achievements from the viewpoint of the present and future of socialism.

In addition to the principles of conscious and religious freedom written down in our Constitution and implemented, the real equality of all religious denominations has been asserted for the first time in socialist Hungary. The centuries-old conflicts between churches in Hungary were replaced by good relations of mutual respect and cooperation. This is asserted in the mutual responsibility felt and acceepted for the future of our fatherland and of mankind. The churches in Hungary today are not only internally independent communities but also respected institutions of the socialst society. Based on their faith and their religious convictions, they participate in solving the common problems facing society.

The dialogue and theoretical exchange of views between Marxist and religious scientists and between philosophers and theologians increased in the eighties and led to new results; this is an event of great importance that promoted wide international interest. Despite ideological differences, we were able to study each other's values more profoundly and to show more patience and understanding toward each other. We mutually recognized that, starting from differing ideological bases, Marxism and religion can approach many human values, moral norms, and political processes in a similar way. This, of course, does not mean that we stop spreading our ideology, as, of course, the church will not do that either. Our constant task, however, is to continue to try to make our ideological education work more efficient and at a higher standard. We must try to be able to provide authentic, ideologically well-founded, and convincing answers to the real questions of life.

State-church relations today are characterized by a relationship of partnership based on mutual confidence. We have, of course, problems that need to be solved, but I think that the most important thing is that there is no conflict to disturb the calm and life of society and there is a common need to deepen our cooperation.

[Friss] There have been changes lately in several important positions in the church leadership. Does that mean a change in state-church relations too? Is there a guarantee of continuity and further development?

[Miklos] Our public opinion is well aware that several personnel changes have recently taken place in the responsible leading posts of the largest churches in Hungary -- the Catholic and the Presbyterian churches. There have been or still are personnel changes taking place also in the leadership of other religious denominations in Hungary. Church leaders of great authority and outstanding capacity and wide general outlook have left the leading positions. I would like to mention separately here the late Cardinal Laszlo Lekai and the recently retired Presbyterian Bishop Dr Tibor Bartha who gained historical distinction indeveloping relations between the socialist state and the churches nn Hungary.

Personnel changes in leading positions -- no matter in which community -- can lead to insecurity and confusion. People both within the church and outside it are justifiably concerned by the question whether there will now be a change in the guidelines, concepts, and style. Despite recent important personnel changes and those that still lie ahead of us, we cannot speak about the beginning of a new phase in state-church relations. There have been no changes in the life of society that would encourage the heads of the churches and the bodies that work out the party's church policy to open a new phase in the relations between church and state. I regard the answers given to the challenges of the age and the development of the political strategy as determining factors. The generation change in leadership will also be followed by renewing changes in the internal life of the churches -- all this by maintaining the earlier values. It is my conviction, however, that the basic policy principles as regards the state-church relations in Hungary will not change, and the activity of the newly elected church leaders will serve the further fulfillment of peaceful and creative cooperation. I see the guarantee of this in the fact that both the churches and the state are equally interested in developing their cooperation. I see the guarantee of this in the fact that both the churches and the state are equally interested in developing their cooperation on the basis of the results achieved so far.

[Friss] How do you evaluate the practical implementation of church policy in everyday life, particularly as regards the activity of the local party, state, and public organizations and their relations with the church representatives?

[Miklos] Direct contacts between the state and public bodies and the church representatives is an important factor from the viewpoint of the conditions for trust and cooperation between them. An increased number of exchanges of views and forums have been recently held on state-church relations, the possibilities of political cooperation, and the issues of our social contradictions. These meetings have dissipated many misunderstandings and have increased mutual trust. At these exchanges of views, both sides' representatives expressed their views and presented mutual demands sincerely and in an open atmosphere. The fact that more church officials received responsible positions in the National Assembly, the county and local councils, and the national and local bodies of the National Peace Council and the PPF than previously had a positive effect on public activity. [passage omitted]

[Friss] As a result of several decades of mutual efforts, the Hungarian churches have found their place in the socialist society. In what concrete areas do you see possibilities for development. In what areas is it possible for the churches -- on the basis of mutual agreement -- to be more active?

[Miklos] There are many opportunities for advancement and for extending our cooperation. The churches in Hungary can play a more active role than hitherto in fostering and strengthening socialist national unity -- including maintaining and strengthening the atmosphere of confidence -- spreading the ideals of humanism, encouraging work integrity, struggling against crime, alcoholism, and drug-abuse, working with endangered youth, and carrying out charitable social work.

[Friss] The Hungarian church policy regards the debates within the various churches as an internal affair. In the course of this debate, however, views are often voiced that harm the spirit of our Constitution. To give only one example: the effort of some church groups to encourage refusal to serve in the Army. What is your opinion about this?

[Miklos] First of all, I would like to point out that I regard counteropinions, other opinions, and debates as natural ingredients of social and political life. The same is true concerning the issues related to church life. [passage omitted]

Under the pretext of church reorganization and theological debates, certain individuals and groups are beginning an irresponsible political action aimed at disturbing the state-church relations. They try to involve the religious youth in "pacifist" organizations and to persuade them to refuse military service on grounds of conscience.

The Hungarian People's Republic respects and defends human rights. The exercise of rights is, however, inseparable from the fulfillment of obligations. The defense of the fatherland is such a constitutional obligation. The overwhelming majority of religious people recognize this obligation and, with very few exceptions, religious young people honestly fulfill their military defense obligations stipulated by law. The heads of the Hungarian churches have declared that military service and the preparation of youth for the defense of the fatherland are not in contradiction with the theological principles and traditions of the church. [passage omitted]

[Friss] The foreign policy guideline of the Hungarian state is clear: struggle for peace, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence. What is the contribution of the churches in Hungary to this goal?

[Miklos] The churches and denominations in Hungary have built a multilateral and valuable international system of relations, which is an important part of our country's international relations. The representatives of the churches in Hungary participate regularly in the activities of the various world church organizations. [passage omitted]

In addition to the international church organization, the developing bilateral relations with all the areas of the world also play an important role in the foreign activity of the Hungarian churches. I would like to stress that the church maintained contacts between East and West at a time when other contacts dwindled to a minimum. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian churches' contacts with the Hungarians and Hungarian churches living and operating abroad are activities worthy of attention in the course of the international contacts of the Hungarian churches. The Hungarian churches made a considerable contribution to the maintenance of national identity, cultural heritage, and the mother tongue both among the minorities and in the diaspora.

[Friss] It is still an oft-voiced opinion of Western analysts that the balanced relations between the socialist state and the churches in Hungary is only a tactical and temporary solution. Others try to confront Hungarian church policy with the practice of other socialist countries.

[Miklos] In analyzing Hungarian political relations, bourgeois ideologists and politicians find it hard to explain the fact that this policy has stood the test of practice because it is accepted and supported by the majority of citizens of different world outlooks. This policy serves our pan-national goals well: the creation and maintenance of the Hungarian people's national unity and our economic and cultural development.

As for church policy in Hungary and the practice in other socialist countries, it is my conviction that there is no general and mechanically applicable solution in this area of socialist construction either. Every socialist country is developing its own church policy in accordance with its own historical heritage and present endowments. This, of course, does not mean that we cannot mutually exchange and apply our experiences. We cannot, however, expect our enemies to agree with our political principles and methods. When they claim that our church policy is merely tactics forced by circumstances, they voice their desire to introduce disturbances and distrust in our church partners and in the masses of believers. The priests and believers who feel responsibility for their churches, however, are well aware of our party's church policy and have every reason to have confidence in the lasting, principled, and predictable character of this policy. [passage omitted]

DANISH PRIME MINISTER WELCOMED BY LAZAR, VARKONYI

LD131305 Budapest MTI in English 1158 GMT 13 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 13 (MTI) -- On Monday Poul Schluter, prime minister of the Kingdom of Denmark, arrived on an official visit to Budapest on the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. The Danish prime minister is accompanied by his wife.

At the flag-bedecked Ferihegy Airport Poul Schluter was met with military honours. Gyorgy Lazar and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi were the first to welcome the Danish premier who then received the salute of the guard of honour together with his host. After the playing of the two national anthems, introductions were made.

The airport reception was attended by Ambassadors Hans Kuhne of Denmark to Hungary and Piroska Kiraly of Hungary to Denmark. Mrs Lazar was also present.

Talks With Lazar

LD132238 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 13 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 13 (MTI) -- As reported earlier, on Monday official Hungarian-Danish prime ministerial talks were held in Budapest with Poul Schluter and Gyorgy Lazar in the chair. According to the information of a correspondent of MTI the parties surveyed bilateral relations and exchanged views on topical international affairs.

Both parties stated with satisfaction that Hungarian-Danish relations were developing in a balanced and successful way in all walks of life, and their extension would not be hindered by the diverging social systems of the two countries either. The present Hungarian-Danish prime ministerial meeting is the third one within ten years. In this respect the negotiating parties emphasized the importance of high-level visits that deepen bilateral relations and contribute to an improvement in the international atmosphere. Outlining the prospects of the development of relations, the parties held it particularly important jointly to exploit economic potentials. They called first of all for the spreading of new forms of cooperation, including production cooperation, establishment of joint ventures, joint participation in world bank tenders, and cooperation in third markets. The parties also took a stand for the development of technical, scientific, cultural and human relations including tourism which is getting more intensive.

Surveying the international situation both parties termed the Soviet-American talks on the dismantling of intermediate-range missiles in Europe as promising and saw a good opportunity for an agreement. The negotiating parties agreed on the need to make an immediate breakthrough in arms limitation that would make a favourable impact on the international situation. In this respect they pointed out that, beside the great powers, the small and medium-sized countries also played an important part in the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security which was also proved by results in the CSCE process.

To advance cooperation in Europe requires the development of economic relations between the countries of various social systems. In this interest both parties stressed the importance of the settlement of relations between the CMEA and the EEC as well as between the EEC and the various CMEA member states.

After the Hungarian-Danish prime ministerial talks Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Poul Schluter at his residence and held talks with him.

In the evening Gyorgy Lazar and his wife gave a gala dinner in honour of Poul Schluter and his wife in the parliament building.

MARJAI EXAMINES TRADE RELATIONS WITH POLAND

LD151228 Warsaw PAP in English 1248 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 14: The days of Polish economy and technology are being held here with a view to presenting Poland's achievements in electronics, automotive, engineering and chemical industries and also in agriculture and food industry.

Analysing the development of the Hungarian-Polish economic contacts, Hungary's Vice-Premier Jozsef Marjai, who delivered a speech during the inauguration of the days, stressed that in the years 1981-85, economically difficult for both countries, the mutual trade turnover had almost doubled. Last year alone the share of production manufactured on the basis of specialization and cooperation agreements had amounted to 40 percent.

According to the Hungarian vice-premier the development of relations between the two countries concerned is indicative of the fact that the coordination of economic policies, including economic management systems and cooperation mechanisms, guarantees the most profitable and the most reasonable division of labour between Poland and Hungary.

To consolidate these agreements, we must make necessary corrections. One should not let bureaucratic tendencies that hamper the development of cooperation strengthen again, Marjai underscored.

WORLD BUSINESS COUNCIL OFFICIALS, MET BY MARJAI

LD151827 Budapest MTI in English 0823 GMT 15 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI) -- On Tuesday Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met George Sheldon and Robert Holmes, leaders of the U.S.-based International Social Organization of World Business Council [WBC], which was founded in 1970 and mainly rallies U.S., Canadian and Central American businessmen and politicians. The talks were chiefly concerned with relations between WBC and the Hungarian organizations.

During their stay in Hungary, the WBC leaders held talks with the General Secretary of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and leading officials of the ministries of foreign affairs, foreign trade, education and culture, as well as managers of the Ibusz travel company.

BRIEFS

CHINESE TOURISM AGREEMENT -- Deputy Domestic Trade Minister Imre Vincze and PRC Ambassador Zhu Ankang signed a Hungarian-Chinese intergovernmental tourism agreement in Budapest on 31 March. Last year 4,100 Chinese citizens visited Hungary and 1,550 Hungarian citizens visited China. Imre Vincze said that the agreement widens existing contacts and increases the number of people visiting each country, although it would never be cheap due to the long distance. Zhu Ankang said that the PRC welcomes the Hungarian tourists, who can visit 140 open cities in China; individual trips are also possible. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Apr 87 p 4 AU]

POLITBURO ASSESSES TIES WITH USSR, ZHIVKOV TALKS

LD152340 Warsaw PAP in English 2121 GMT 15 Apr 87

[Text] Warsaw, April 15 -- The PUWP CC Political Bureau made its monthly review of the implementation of the CC 3rd plenum resolution yesterday.

It evaluated hitherto cooperation between Polish and Soviet companies, saying that importance of such contacts would increase in the second stage of the reform. Direct cooperation has been established between 150 producers from each country, and more than 100 research and development institutions and 55 universities on both sides entered into cooperation in science and technology. Work on five new industrial joint ventures begun last January, followed by seven more, including four to operate in the agriculture.

The Political Bureau stressed that direct cooperation between independent companies, in various forms, was an important instrument to make fuller use of the advantages offered by international division of labour within CMEA and an important structural novelty in relations with the socialist countries.

The main point is co-production and joint solution of technical problems, but no less importantly -- other forms, such as exchange of production brigades, including youth, as well as contacts between party, trade unions, and self-managemet bodies. Mutual economic and technical information must also increase.

The Bureau assesed the implementation of the long-range comprehensive Polish-Soviet programme of scientific-technical progress, saying it would be stepped up especially in electronics, comprehensive automation, energy, new materials and technologies, and biotechnologies. The bureau also stressed the need of cooperation throughout full research and development processes.

The Bureau examined the course of the talks between the PUWP CC first secretary, president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov during his last week's working, friendly visit. The Bureau gave a high assessment of the outcome of the talks.

It stressed both respective parties unchangingly backed the line of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the significant Soviet peace initiatives, and agreed in their opinions on key international issues.

The arrangements adopted during the visit will help further deepen the internationalist cooperation between the PUWP and the BKP, expand the Polish-Bulgarian relations in all fields and thus consolidate the socialist community.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES ENVOY TO MOSCOW 15 APR

LD152330 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 15 Apr 87

[Text] Warsaw, April 15 -- The PUWP CC first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Wlodzimierz Natorf, the Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union, here today.

DISSIDENT GEREMEK VIEWS SOLIDARITY ROLE

PM141214 Paris LE MONDE in French 12-13 Apr 87 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, Polish historian and adviser to Solidarity, by Jan Krauze in Warsaw -- date not given]

[Text] Warsaw -- [Krauze] Solidarity has not had any legal existence for a long time and now no longer really seems to have any control over events, as witnessed by the recent price hikes and the lack of any large-scale reactions. How long can the movement continue in such a position of importence?

[Geremek] The Polish situation must not be judged on the basis of the past, on the price hike-strikes-popular revolt syndrome. The Polish people now know that this chain of events only produces a superficial change, the replacement of a government team, and a few promises of reforms. Solidarity's birth and the 1980 strike were precisely a departure from this rationale because, for the first time, people were able to win some independence.

[Krauze] And yet, has not Solidarity declined from a mass movement which claimed to express the aspirations of Polish society as a whole, to the role of a mere symbol of the "opposition" in a system which has no place for that?

[Geremek] At present Solidarity exists at three levels: the expression of aspirations, illegal publications, and the trade union level.

The representation of national and social aspirations is indeed rather symbolic. With its philosophy of nonviolent action, Solidarity is incapable of realizing these wishes, incapable of mobilizing the masses.

Parallel publications -- what is known as the "second circuit" -- remain very important. They make possible not only circulation of information but also the expression of different political programs.

In this way Solidarity is faithful to its own philosophy which is to avoid being a political movement: Political programs are organized around the movement and not inside it.

And then there is trade union action, the importance of which is not clearly seen either in Pland or abroad. It is demonstrated by members' fidelity, the payment of subscriptions, the defense of social advantages, and working conditions. Solidairty also wants to exert pressure on local justice, in the enterprises, and on the self-management committees, on which it is represented. It is a clandestine movement seeking means of legal existence which knows that its program is implemented partly through official institutions.

"Surviving Means Keeping a Symbolic Role" [subhead]

By formulating demands, Solidarity ensures that the official trade unions take account of them, and sometimes even try to go further. Solidarity explained its attitude on the price hikes in January. Two months later, the official trade unions submitted their demands in similar terms, including the index-linking of wages. It is true that they later backed down and that the operation may look like a maneuver. Nonetheless the demand was submitted.

None of this work is very spectacular and it may not live up to the expectations of foreign opinion or of the Poles who would like Solidarity to concentrate on expressing national aspirations.

As far as the movement is concerned, surviving while awaiting a more favorable time, means keeping its symbolic role and its own myths while accomplishing this work in the trade union sphere.

[Krauze] You have linked your name and political existence to Solidarity. Do you think that the time has come to call it a day and try something different?

[Geremek] No, I do not think Solidarity's days are over. Those who think that are sorely mistaken.

[Krauze] Yet, this is apparently what a section of the episcopate feels.

[Geremek] I do not think that this is the attitude of the Polish church, which is still aware of Solidarity's importance. It is true that we sometimes see what seems to be a reflection of official propaganda, of the theory of "evil conspiracies," which goes hand in hand with the conviction that Solidarity's existence is preventing the internal situation from developing in a positive way. These are groundless arguments.

More than 5 years after the proclamation of martial law, Poland is still in a state of "civil conflict" and the government is still trying to tame the opposition and make it part of the system. However, Solidarity's raison d'etre is its independence. The government must accept the need for institutional pluralism. This is in its interests too. If it did that, it could find a partner in Solidarity provided it respected its independence.

Mr Gorbachev's "Dynamism" [subhead]

[Krauze] In the early eighties Poland was the country which was causing a scandal and also inspiring hope in Eastern Europe. This hope now seems to be placed more in one man, a Russian, who is also CPSU leader. Do you not feel a little bitter?

[Geremek] If you look at Poland, you certainly cannot help noticing that, aside from 1918, the major national movements, particularly insurrections, have always happened at the wrong time: 1830, 1863, 1944.... But the present situation does not make me bitter. Quite the reverse, I think that Gorbachev's policy is interesting and important for Poland and, in my view, Poland is very significant for Gorbachev. The Polish experience proves that a nondemocratic system can afford to go a long way toward democratization because it so happens that you cannot introduce change by force without major problems.

Having said that, there is not necessarily any link between modernization of the economy and democratization. The alternative is this: Either we rely on Western aid to modernize the economy or we count on the utilization of internal energies in which case democratization is necessary.

I also wonder whether, in Gorbachev's mind, the current "modernization" also affects the principles on which the Soviet empire is built. So far we can only see fairly tenuous signs of such a development. This is a key question for us.

But the most striking thing is that, on the Polish side, we can see only stagnation, whereas there is dynamism on the Soviet side. Since September 1986 when political prisoners were released, the authorities here have not taken any additional steps or made any new approaches. We are still awaiting a radical reform of the economy and, in addition, a process of democratization not liberalization.

Liberalization is the granting of freedom. What the Poles want is to have their own organizations and make their own voice heard. In this connection, Gorbachev's dynamism has not yet found any echo in Poland. I think we are approaching a crucial time.

[Krauze] Is the Polish leadership not wondering, as many other people are, whether Gorbachev will be able to stay in power for long and pursue his policy?

[Geremek] This is certainly one of the factors which have so far paralyzed the leadership. If things are going to "last" we must make sure they do. It is no longer possible to wait.

[Krauze] You are one of the prominent people with whom visiting Western officials in Warsaw never fail to meet if they have the opportunity to do so. What importance can this kind of ritual meeting still have?

[Geremek] It has indeed become a ritual, but it is important. Western politicians do not meet with private individuals but with representatives of the opposition. This is recognition of the fact that there is de facto pluralism in Poland. I see this as support for Polish civilian society, but also for the moves toward democratization which come from the communist government itself.

KOR'S MICHNIK DISCUSSES STRUGGLE OBJECTIVES

PM091020 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 31 Mar 87 p 17

[Interview with Polish Social Self-Defense Committee leader Adam Michnik by Giuseppe Pagano in Gdansk "in early March"]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Pagano] You are known abroad as a Social Self-Defense Committe [KOR] leader of socialist leanings. How do you view the issue of socialism in Poland?

[Michnik] I believe that in Poland the concept of oppositionist or follower of socialism has lost its meaning. My formation was socialist. I learned to think in political terms from socialist texts and espoused the socialist system of values -- social justice, economic development, and above all freedom. I found the extension of these values in Solidarity. Without this tradition, the fundamental idea of Solidarity, of the self-managed republic, would be incomprehensible. If I were Italian or French I would probably be a socialist. But if I were to say in Poland today that I am socialist nobody would understand, because Polish socialism is what it is. The Poles know no other kind of socialism. This is why I call myself a Solidarity man instead of a socialist. I state clearly what it implies without arguing with General Jaruzelski about whether it is socialism or something else.

[Pagano] How do you view the evolution of the socialist experience in the situation in which you live?

[Michnik] The situation in which I live has defined itself as real socialism, and talking about the future of the socialist idea is like talking about a chimera. What seems important to me here today in Poland is the struggle for specific rights, such as pluralism in public life, a share in the ownership of the means of production, the right to self-management and monitoring, freedom of expression, the right to legality as the real regulator of interpersonal relations. It can also be said that the struggle being waged in Poland is a struggle to rebuild civil society. In Italy it could be called the struggle for socialism, in Poland the struggle for Solidarity: It is the same thing. [paragraph continues]

Within the concept of a civil society, the idea of solidarity, the system, of values in which I believe coincides with the Christian system of values.

[Pagano] What are the solutions to the stagnation affecting your country?

[Michnik] This stagnation will not be eternal. The changes in the Soviet Union and Gorbachev's statements show us that without reforms, fundamental reforms, this system can no longer function. It is as though it had exhausted its development potential. I agree with Gorbachev on this point. The system really has exhausted its development potential. Now a question: What form will the changes of the system take? Will they be violent explosions or gradual changes? If the path pursued were to be the latter, then the political compromise in Poland would be an essential precondition. A political compromise is essential to achieve real reforms. We cannot fail to mention the fact that our "nomenklatura" could in any case prove unable to promote the reforms. Juruzelski will never telephone Walesa, as Gorbachev telephoned Sakharov. We must be prepared for a compromise with this government, but we must be equally prepared, when the time comes, to side with the workers.

[Pagano] How do you conceive the pluralism for which Solidarity is struggling?

[Michnik] We will have as much pluralism as we are able to create. There are two ways of achieving pluralism. You can ask the government for permission to create a pluralistic institution or simply establish it. We in Poland are trying to create faits accomplis. This is why we often say that we are struggling not for power but for a different kind of society. We are creating it through our activities -- by creating independent structure, publishing houses, libraries, independent students' unions, independent associations, and so forth. We do not know what form post-communist society will take. I assume it will be a society based on two values -- civil freedom and social justice. One thing is certain: The post-totalitarian society that we are talking about will not want to achieve any kind of utopia. Societies that have experienced real communism are afraid of utopias.

[Pagano] What does dialogue mean to KOR activists? Is it the "obscure object of desire"?

[Michnik] The obscure objective of desire... Yes, the obscure object of desire. Thoughts about dialogue could also be said to be "devout desires." But what else is there? A war for power? We will never win the war with the Soviet Union by engaging in a fight. If we were to win we would have to defend power with the same methods as the communists. Instead of socialism with a human face -- as we call it -- would have created "Sovietism with a Polish face." If there is no dialogue then there is violence, but violence does not create democracy. Violence is always created by dictatorship. Violence can be useful when society wants to break the final bonds that separate it from freedom. Here there is another problem -- the problem of rebuilding society. You can destroy society with violence but you cannot rebuild it with the same violence.

[Pagano] In Italy your letter to Craxi was read with great interest. You thanked him for his personal approach to the Polish Government for the release of political prisoners. Now, some months later, is there anything you would like to add?

[Michnik] I would like to thank Bettino Craxi once again for having helped my colleagues and myself. There is a Polish proverb that says: "A friend in need is a friend indeed." When we were in need we received shows of friendship from the Italian Socialist leader. This is very important, as a sign of the Italian workers' solidarity with the Polish workers, of the solidarity of lovers of freedom in Italy with those in Poland.

[Pagano] Italian Socialists are strongly represented in the European Parliament. One of their representatives is Jiri Pelikan. He has always worked to maintain the dialogue with the peoples, intellectuals, and dissidents of the Eastern bloc. What is your opinion about this part of Europe, the "forgotten Europe" that we would so much like to see united? What kind of efforts can the peoples make to make such a utopia possible?

[Michnik] There is only one way -- to create faits accomplis. There must be more contacts, not only between governments but also between societies and peoples. Backing is needed for initiatives supporting the cause of freedom in this part of Europe. It seems to me that Italian Socialists and Bettino Crazi personally have done a great deal in this field.

SIWICKI HAILS SWIERCZEWSKI, VIEWS SITUATION

AU011102 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Mar 87 p 2

["Text" of speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, at the 28 March Jablonki rally to mark the 40th anniversary of the death of General Karol Swierczewski]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on Swierczewski's biography] By our presence here we pay homage to a man who gave his life -- his most valuable possession -- to People's Poland and the Polish people. But the offering of his life was not in vain as is most eloquently attested to by Poland, as it is now, and by the obvious development of Krosno territory, which has seen so much soldierly toil and bloodshed.

This is precisely why this patriotic rally induces us to think not only about history, but also about other issues because we are living in a complicated world, one that is full of divisions, contradictions, and tensions. Mindful of our past, we continue to watch -- anxiously and yet hopefully -- political events and their military consequences.

The ever increasing expansion of the war potential of NATO, including the West German Bundeswehr, which is NATO's main force in Europe, the production of newer and increasingly destructive weapon systems, and the stubborn realization of the most dangerous American plans known as Star Wars continue to raise justified fears.

The many peace initiatives launched by the Warsaw Pact countries and, particularly, the most specific, far-reaching, and manifold Soviet proposals to curb and reduce armaments are aimed at liquidating these dangerous processes and eliminating military force from interstate relations. These initiatives are consistent with mankind's expectations and great hopes. They are especially dear to us who were so tragically afflicted by the war. We support them most resolutely and consistently.

The history of Poland makes it necessary for us to actively participate in peace initiatives, vigilantly watch the disturbing course of events, and do our best to ensure security for our country on the basis of our own defense potential and that of our allies. This is all the more necessary since there is still no dearth of people who want to revise the results of World War II, and since various fuehrers [fuehrerzy] of various regional organizations still continue to exist in the FRG, to raise clamor, to proclaim anti-Polish slogans, and to dream about returning to the ancient lands of our forefathers -- to the Piast lands.

That is why we must never forget history's severe lessons! We must never allow these lessons to be repeated! This is our duty in view of the blood shed by all fighters for an independent Poland of the people, and in view of the heroic efforts of those who raised the country from its war ravages.

History never forgives those who fail to learn the right lessons from it. We have learned these lessons. We continue to steadfastly build an independent existence and a secure and peaceful future for our people through persevering toil and peaceful policy, which has been frequently reaffirmed by our resolve to maintain friendship with all nations in accordance with the principles of mutual respect, to develop friendship and consolidate cooperation with the USSR and the socialist countries, and to improve our national and allied defense potential.

This is always the most urgent task for the party and all echelons of people's rule. At present we have to accomplish it under especially complicated conditions when the country's development continues to be beset by many difficulties and shortcomings, which our people often experience as harassment of their daily lives. However, the past few years have demonstrated that we are able to effectively cope with these difficulties and shortcomings.

The best road to a better future and more affluent life for all of us is everyone's intensified efforts, rationally organized and productive work, and the consistent application of scientific and technological achievements in production processes. All our undertakings at every job must be based on the strict principles of business accounting and really effective and thrifty management.

Only in this way, and under conditions of ever improving people's rule and socialist norms of justice, will we be able to build and strengthen People's Poland, which is our common home.

The fact that many young people are attending this rally shows that not only the veterans of war and reconstruction, but also the young generation of Poles correctly comprehend the truth that Poland's peace and security are indivisible and overriding values in our national existence.

Young friends, today no one wants you to shed your blood or lives, but I trust that you will enrich and multiply the country's achievements and defense potential and will draw on the experience of your fathers' dedication and selflessness, and on the sources of imperishable examples in order to serve the fatherland in the best possible way.

May this patriotic rally inspire you to vow that the young generation of Poles will accomplish its tasks honorably. You will best fulfill your duty and obey the testament of those who gave their most valuable possession -- their lives -- to Poland, by honest study and work. Those who gave their lives for Poland wanted to see it free and secure. We still continue to realize this idea. [passage omitted on praise for Bieszczady people]

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17 APRIL 1987